

Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EUR-12 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03

H-02 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

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R 251009Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9723

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L NOFORN TOKYO 5557

E.O. 11652 XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, JA, CH

SUBJECT: PRC-JAPAN PEACE FRIENDSHIP TREATY: HEGEMONY ISSUE

REF: A. TOKYO 4647

B. TOKYO 5471

C. PEKING 735

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUMMARY: TAKASHIMA MISSION TO PEKING ACHEIVED NO BREAKTHROUGH ON
NETTLESOME "HEGEMONY ISSUE" IN PEACE/FRIENDSHIP TREATY (PFT)
BETWEEN TOKYO AND PEKING AND BOTH SIDES SEEM TO BE MAINTAINING
FIRM POSITIONS. DEPSITE MUTUAL EAGERNESS TO CONCLUDE PFT,
FONMIN MIYAZAWA TOLD DIET JAPAN WOULD NOT RUSH INTO TREATY WHICH
COULD LEAD TO MISUNDERSTANDING BY OTHER NATIONS AND FONMIN CHO
TOLD JAPANESE CHINA COULD WAIT "FIVE-TEN YEARS," IF NECESSARY, TO
INCORPORATE "PHILOSOPHY OF OPPOSITION TO HEGEMONY" IN TREATY.
DESPITE THESE FIRM WORDS, DISCUSSIONS CONTINUE AND, ULTIMATELY,
MAKINGS OF COMPROMISE SEEM TO US TO EXIST. END SUMMARY.
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1. FONOFF CHINA DIV DEP DIR OGURA, WHO ACCOMPANIED ASIAN BUREAU
DIRGEN TAKASHIMA ON APRIL 17-22 VISIT TO PEKING, DESCRIBED TO US
PEKING'S ATTITUDE TOWARD INCLUSION OF "PHILOSOPHY OF OPPOSITION
TO HEGEMONY" IN PFT AS VERY FIRM. WHILE EXPRESSING EAGERNESS

TO CONCLUDE PFT, PRC FONMIN CHIAO KUAN-HUA TOLD TAKASHIMA CHINA WAS WILLING TO WAIT "FIVE-TEN YEARS" TO CONCLUDE TREATY, IF NECESSARY TO INCORPORATE ANTI-HEGEMONY PRINCIPLE IN TREATY. OGURA WAS INTRIGUED BY EMPHASIS CHINESE PLACED ON THE "PRINCIPLE" OF ANTI-HEGEMONY AND COMMENTED THAT NEITHER CHIAO NOR VICE FONMIN HAN NIEN-LUNG STATED EVEN ONCE THAT EXACT PHRASEOLOGY OF '72 JOINT COMMUNIQUE MUST BE WRITTEN INTO TREATY. OGURA DISCERNED THAT TWO FACTORS MUST BE WRITTEN INTO TREATY. OGURA DISCERNED THAT TWO FACTORS ARE PARAMOUNT IN PEKING'S INSISTENCE ON THIS POINT. FOREMOST IS DESIRE , FOR POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC REASONS, TO OBTAIN JAPAN'S COMMITMENT IN TREATY FORM TO OPPOSE HEGEMONY. TARGET IS, OF COURSE, THE SOVIET UNION. SECONDLY, OGURA BELIEVES CHINESE WANT TO INCORPORATE THIS PRINCIPLE IN PFT FOR DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION. OGURA REASONED THAT PPT WOULD PROVIDE NOTHING TO PEKING ON TAIWAN AND THUS, AS ALTERNATIVE, JAPAN'S SUBSCRIPTION TO ANTI-HEGEMONY PRINCIPLE (IE OPPOSING SOVIETS) WOULD BE POPULAR AND USEFUL GAIN FOR PEKING'S MOTIVE MAY ALSO BE TO ESTABLISH A QUASI MILITARY ALLIANCE WITH TOKYO AGAINST SOVIETS OR, AS TAKASHIMA TOLD SOME DIETMEN, TO USE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE TO CURB JAPAN'S ECONOMIC PRESENCE IN SE ASIA, OGURA IS COVINCED PEKING'S REAL PURPOSES ARE AS STATED ABOVE.

BEGIN GDS

3. OGURA CONFIRMED TODAY THAT TOKYO'S POSITION ALSO WAS UNCHANGED. DESPITE NARROW LEGALISTIC ARGUMENTATION TOKYO'S NEGOTIATORS USE IN TALKS WITH CHINESE, TOKYO'S OPPOSITION IN REALITY IS ALSO POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC. HIGHLIGHTING THIS POINT DURING LOWER HOUSE INTERPELLATIONS AFTER TAKASHIMA'S RETURN, FONMIN MIYAZAWA COMMENTED THAT FIRENDSHIP WITH CHINA WAS IMPORTANT BUT NOT EVERYTHING SINCE JAPAN WOULD LIKE TO ENJOY FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES. GOJ POSITION, ACCORDING TO MIYAZAWA, WAS BASED ON PRINCIPLE THAT NATIONAL INTERESTS WOULD NOT BE SERVED BY CONCLUDING TREATY WHICH RAISED DOUBTS ABOUT JAPAN'S INTENTIONS AND THEREFORE IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO YIELD
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ON THIS (HEGEMONY) POINT. OGURA SAID JAPAN COULD ACCEPT A POSITIVE FORMULATION
IN ASIA" WHICH IMPLIED OPPOSITION TO HEGEMONY.

4. WITH HIS DIESIRES FOR THE PFT SHOWING, PM MIKI APPARENTLY TOLD FONOFF TO THINK OF NEW APPROACHES FOR RESOLVING ISSUE. TO THIS AND, SOME STEPS FORWARD HAVE RESULTED FOLLOWING TAKASHIMA'S VISIT. LINE BY LINE DRAFTING OF PFT IS EXPECTED TO BEGIN APRIL 25 IN PEKING. OGURA COMMENTED THAT "HEGEMONY" PROBLEM WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE ENCOUNTERED FAIRLY NEARLY IN THE PEKING DISCUSSIONS, BUT PRIMARY LOCUS FOR TOUGH HEGEMONY PROBLEM IS STILL WITH VICE FONMIN TOGO AND ANB CHEN CHU IN TOKYO. TOGO AND CHEN MET APRIL 24 TO EXCHANGE VIEWS AGAIN ON "HEGEMONY." CHINA DIVDIR FUJITA, WHO ATTENDED MEETING, TOLD US NO REAL

PROGRESS WAS MADE BUT BOTH AGREED TO MEET AGAIN SOON TO CONTINUE
TO TRY AND FIND MEANS TO RESOLVE IMPASSE.

5. COMMENT: DESPITE PM MIKI'S EAGERNESS TO CONCLUDE PFT
DURING CURRENT DIET SESSION, OVERCOMING HEGEMONY ISSUE APPEARS
TOUGHER THAN EXPECTED. TIME IN CURRENT SESSION IS INDEED
RUNNING OUT AND MIKI'S FOREIGN POLICY
OBJECTIVES ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY SUBJECTS FOR SABATOGUE
BY FACTIONAL OPPOSITION WITHIN LDP. FONOFF AND MIYAZAWA HIMSELF
SEEM SUBMITTING TO DIET THIS SESSION AND THEY, LIKE FONMIN CHIAO,
APPARENTLY ARE DETERMINED TO UNDERSTAND OTHER SIDE'S BASIC INTENTIONS
REGARDING HEGEMONY AND NOT ENTER LIGHTLY INTO AN UNDERSTANDING
WHICH COULD SPELL SERIOUS TROUBLE LATER. HOW LONG THAT MIGHT
TAKE IS DIFFICULT TO JUDGE, BUT WE STILL BELIEVE THAT MAKINGS
OF COMPROMISE EXIST.
HODGSON

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